

WHAKAPAKOKO RAKAU

Godsticks

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Abstract. A godstick from Ngataranga Bay in Auckland recently acquired by Auckland Museum is compared with known examples. The named set in Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, the examples in Wanganui Museum recorded by Barrow, the set in Auckland Institute and Museum and other named examples are examined for information on the function of such sets.

It is now possible to examine the context and associations of the known sets and to determine their functions within the wider setting of the complete corpus of Maori godsticks.

Recently Auckland Museum acquired a godstick or *whakapakoko rakau* (Figs. 1,2), which had been found many years before at Ngataranga Bay, Devonport. This stick depicts a head with sloping ridged forehead and very stylised face surmounting small shoulders and hands. It is large, 44 cm long by 7-8 cm wide, made of puriri wood (*Vitex lucens*) (A.E. Wright pers. comm.) with the shaft tunnelled by sea borer (A.B. Stephenson pers. comm.). Ngataranga Bay is a mudflat area and sea borer is endemic to the area. Godsticks of this form have not been known previously for the Auckland area.

The Ngataranga Bay godstick is identical in form with that named as Hukere (Skinner 1922:168), in the set originally belonging to the Rev. Richard Taylor, in the ridged forehead, open mouth, plain shoulders and arms with hands on chest.

In 1923 George Graham (1923:50) noted four *aria* or god representatives belonging to Ngati Whakaue of Mokoia Island, Rotorua. One of them named Itupaoa "consisted of a figurette woven in human hair, roughly in the form of a head and tapering downwards to a point. The hair was plaited on a wooden rod as base — such is the rather indefinite description that has been handed down. The other three figures, whose names I do not now remember, were taken away by Nga Puhi. I do not think they were ever returned as were other tribal heirlooms in after years." The other gods represented were probably Maru and Rongomai (White 1856:26) or Kahukura and Rongomai (Grey 1928:71) or Maru, Rongomai and Ihungaru (Cowan 1910:110). Graham also mentioned (1923:50) that he saw "a much decayed specimen found in a cave at Mangere (near Auckland) which was taken to England by Kerry-Nicholls".

In 1959 and 1961 Barrow (1959, 1961) listed all the known sticks which he localised to the Wanganui/Taranaki regions. At the same time, Archey (1960) was of the opinion that godsticks were more widespread and moreover, have parallels in Polynesia (ibid:303). Barrow, in his second paper (1961:228) agreed with the latter point.

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have been removed.
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for more information.

Figs. 1,2. The Ngataringa Bay godstick. Auckland Museum, 40009.

NAMED GODSTICKS

Godsticks for which names have been recorded previously comprise a set and individual items, possibly from a further set, collected by the Rev. Richard Taylor, and a set collected by the Rev. John Aldred. Further named items are contained in the Sir George Grey collection in the British Museum, London.

THE REV. RICHARD TAYLOR ITEMS

Three of the four godsticks in the set which belonged to Taylor (1855:82) are certainly those in Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (see Skinner 1922; Barrow 1959).

THE SET

O.XI.40 (Z 6612). 37 cm, labelled on the back "Hukere. Wanganui G New Zealand" and "Hukere F.M. 9/12/84 No 3" (Figs. 3,4).

O.XI.38 (Z 6610). 36 cm, labelled on the back as "Maru" and "F.M. No 1 9/12/84" (Figs. 5,6).

O.XI.39 (Z 6611). 35.5 cm, labelled on the back "Kahukura" (Figs. 7,8).

Barrow (1961:228) identifies an individual godstick now in the National Museum (Oldman 155) as the stick representing Maru in Taylor's original sketch, rather than O.XI.38 above.

A fourth stick in the group of four illustrated by Taylor (Fig. 9) is in the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (No. P.R. 122(H)). It was formerly part of the Ashmolean Museum collection and had been purchased in 1878. The label with the figure explains its use.

"Carved figure in grotesque human form, painted red and bound with red cord (plaited fibre), into which a god was induced by incantations to enter for a time, in order that he might reply through a priest to the people's requests". In the Taylor sketchbook referred to by Barrow (1961:228) the god represented is identified as *Rongomai*.

Attributes of the gods represented

The Taylor godsticks in Cambridge are associated with the gods Maru, Kahukura and Hukere. *Maru*, according to Skinner (1922:169) was a local god of war and Taylor (1855:81) mentions "Karakia, used to propitiate Maru, for success in war" or "*Maru* is the god of War: he was killed and eaten when on earth, but his divinity flew up to heaven, and the planet Mars, from his fiery colour, is called Maru. The god has many names, as

Maru i te Aewa
 " Koeta
 " Anaunau
 " Waka tamara
 " Tahuri mai
 " Takotua
 " Tawakarere
 " Riri
 " Nguha
 " Mataitai

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Figs. 3-9. The Taylor set of godsticks. 3-8. Cambridge. 3,4. O.XI.40 (Z6612). Hukere. 5,6. O.XI.38 (Z6610). Maru. 7,8. O.XI.39 (Z6611). Kahukura. 9. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. P.R. 122 (H). Rongomai.

These names were descriptive of his various evil qualities: his going to and fro as an adversary; chattering defiance; looking down malignantly; causing disease; flaming with wrath; full of anger and bitterness'' (Taylor 1855:35). In other areas he is also noted as a personification of celestial phenomena, a glow in the heavens (E.Best 1982:303). Best also mentions him as replacing Uenuku, one of the rainbow gods among the Aotea people (ibid:414). He is also called "a famed war god" (ibid:610).

Kahukura is a personified form of the rainbow who appears as a double bow in the sky (E.Best 1924:121); he gives weather indications to man. He is also concerned with giving warning of impending death and disaster.

Hukere, also known as Hukere nui, "was a deity connected with the scraping of bones and their deposition in tribal ossuaries" (Graham 1923:50).

Rongomai is one of the important gods. Taylor, in his manuscript journal, has the comment "The natives of Wanganui had many Gods, and likewise images of them, the principal of these were Maru, Kahukura, Reua Korongomai (Taylor MS:360). This latter section should read — Maru, Kahukura raua ko Rongomai, that is Maru, Kahukura and Rongomai. Taylor (1855:33) cites Rongomai as the chief god of Taupo and also as the god of consumption (ibid:34). ". . . each tribe had its peculiar gods. *Tu* was the great god of war in the north, and *Maru* in the south. *Rongomai* was the chief god of Taupo" (Taylor 1855:33); who appears as a meteor or shooting star (E.Best 1924:126). Rongomai is also one of the important gods of Ngati Kahungunu (Matorohanga MS.).

INDIVIDUAL TAYLOR GODSTICKS

In Wanganui Museum there are two named examples of godsticks which can be reliably associated with the Taylor family (Barrow 1959:183). One is E 51.257 (Figs. 12,15) with a label on back with "*Rakaio* god of Kumara" written in pencil (Barrow 1959, No.6, pl.3 a,b). The other is E 51.258 (Figs. 11,14) which has writing on the back in pencil "*Pahaka*" and a note by M.G. Smart is appended "*Pahaka* son of Rongoma Tane". (Barrow 1959, No.8, pl.4, a,b,c). There are also unnamed items (Figs. 10,13) and Fig. 16) which can now be identified (see below).

In the National Museum there is a specimen No.155 in the Oldman collection with "*mokotiti* a New Zealand God" written on it in similar fashion to the Taylor series (Barrow 1959:192), no. 11, pl.11, a,b,c). Other named *whakapakoko rakau* or godsticks are also associated with Taylor. A specimen held in a private collection in Huntingdon, Virginia, U.S.A. was given to G.M. Fox by Taylor. Written on the back is "*Maru* the God of War . . ." (Barrow 1959:190; 1959, No. 5, pl.2 a,b,c).

Attributes of the gods represented

Rakaio, appears in the form of the green gecko, a lizard (E.Best 1982:147, 270), or *moko kakariki*, an omen of death (ibid:600), and also as a symbol of the beginning of life as seen on some carvings. *Rakaio* is also the god of the kumara when being taken into store (White 1887:appendix).

Pahaka is recorded in Tregear (1891:299) and in White (1887:appendix) as a son of Rongomatane, the god superintending crops being taken into store.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
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Figs. 10-16. Taylor godsticks in Wanganui Museum. 10,13. E51.256. Representing Rongomatane. 11,14. E51.258. Named as Pahaka. 12,15. E51.257. Named as Rakatorā. 16. E51.262. Representing Ahupiri Kaiamanga, god of the head.

Mokotiti, known as the god of the chest of men (White 1887:appendix) and as a ‘Reptile-deity, which entering the lungs, causes consumption and pulmonary diseases’ (Tregear 1891:250). Taylor says ‘Moko titi, a lizard god, who was the source of all pains in the breast’ (Taylor 1855:34). The name written on the back of Oldman 155 does not seem to identify the god represented as Mokotiti. It is written in small letters and would suggest a description rather than a name. Mokotiti is a god but *mokotiti* is also an alternative word for *whakapakoko rakau* (Te Riria pers. comm). The god represented would seem to be Maru (ibid), and this would accord with Barrow’s (1961:228) and Archey’s (1960:302) opinions.

THE REV. JOHN ALDRED SET

This set consists of three *whakapakoko rakau* in Auckland Museum presented in 1921 by W.A. Aldred, son of the Rev. John Aldred who collected them in 1848 at Waimate Pa, south Taranaki.

6362. “God-stick being a representation of the Atua Maru” (Figs. 17,18).

6363. “God-stick being a representation of the Atua Tangaroa” (Figs. 19,20).

6364. “God-stick being a representation of the Atua Rongo” (Figs. 21,22).

These pieces are accompanied by letters from John Aldred and the Rev. R.G. Hammond as copied by W.A. Aldred.

“These Maori gods, together with other Maori relics which came into my possession between forty-five and forty-seven years ago. They were procured by the catechist from the Maoris inhabiting the West Coast of the North Island, between Wanganui and New Plymouth; the information respecting them was given to me by the catechist, and by a few aged natives acquainted with the people under his charge. These gods were parted with when the Tribe embraced Christianity. Their age must be very great; for there is scarcely any perceptible difference in their appearance now as compared with their state when they first came into my hands. These gods were in the sole custody of the *tohunga* (priest) and were only on certain occasions, I believe, seen by others. The *tohunga* when invoking them would hold them up in his hand as he muttered his incantations.

The superstitious regard in which these gods were held by the people was very great, as was also the person of the *tohunga* in whose charge they were known to be.

I regret that I cannot give the names of all the gods. Two names out of the three I have quite forgotten.

No. 1 This doubleheaded god, to the best of my recollection, was the god of fishing and was invoked by the *tohunga* when parties went out fishing. The *tohunga* held it up in his hand and indulged in unintelligible mutterings.

No. 11 This was the most important god of the three. He was the god of war and was called Te Maru. He was similarly manipulated by the *tohunga*, and was resorted to in the time of war. This god was regarded with great terror, and the sight of him would fill the warriors with the wildest excitement. The cord that entwines Te Maru was of native make, and was *tapu* (holy). The power of Te Maru (was inside this holy cord).

No. 111 This was the god of planting and like the other two was solely in the charge of the *tohunga*, and was invoked only by him on behalf of the people during the planting season.

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Figs. 17-22. The Aldred set of godsticks in Auckland Museum. 17,18. 6362. Maru. 19,20. 6363. Rongomatane. 21,22. 6364. Tangaroa.

Photo: National Museum

Referring to what I have written about the gods I think it right to add a few qualifying words. It is so long since I came in possession of them, that I have had to hunt through my memory to supply the information I have given. My aim has been strict accuracy, and if I have in any measure failed, I must plead forgetfulness."

This letter has the following note appended to it.

"The foregoing particulars were written by my father, the late John Aldred of Chch, who came out to N.Z. in 1840 as a Wesleyan Missionary to the Maoris.

I was led to understand by my father that these Atuas in question were obtained from the Maoris of the Waimate Pa, near Opunake, Taranaki.

(signed) W. Arthur Aldred
12 Ellerton Rd,
Mt Eden,
Auckland."

29/10/1921

Extract from the Rev T.G. Hammond's letter of 11th July 1892.

"The Patea natives do not know much about the images sold or given to Mr. Hough. But doubtless Mr. Hough (The catechist from whom . . . obtained the articles) got correct information at the time he purchased them, in which case:—

No. 1 would be either Tangaroa or Turanga. The former was the atua to whom incantations were offered before fishing expeditions at sea, but Turanga was the god of the river.

No. 2, Maru, was the most important atua of this people — in fact the atua of the Aotea migration. Maru came to this land in Aotea under the name of Tapo, the person who was insolent to Turi and was thrown overboard, but taken on board again because, by his fearless behaviour, the people saw that the great spirit Maru was in him, and from that time Maru became the most important atua of the Aotea migration — which comprised the Ngatiruanui, Ngatimaru, Ngarauru, Whanganui, Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Mua upoko tribes, with some of the Ngatiawa and Whaka to hea of the East Coast. These tribes kept images (wood) of Maru, some of which are among Ngatiruanui till this day; others were given away or burnt at the introduction of Christianity, and I have no doubt that the one in your possession was a veritable *atua whawhai* of this people.

No. 3. will be Rongo, as the descendants of Turi always offered incantations to Rongo in order to secure good crops.

Should I get more information I will gladly forward it, but I find my people, who have lately very earnestly returned to the gospel, not at all willing to talk or think about these atua — *kino tito*. They seem strangely bitter against all *tikanga Maori*, and speak of these atuas more as actual personalities who have done great wrong to them and their people in the past. A Maori told me the other day that all the Maori gods of old were bad — not one good among the many."

This letter extract is accompanied by the following.

"I certify that the foregoing is a correct copy of the extract of the letter received by my father, the late John Aldred, Wesleyan Missionary, of Chch, from the Rev T G Hammond of 11 July 1892.

W Arthur Aldred
12 Ellerton Rd,
Mt Eden
Auckland."

29/10/1921

Attributes of the gods represented

In the Aldred set the names given are fairly straightforward although there is some doubt as to which they refer. 6362 is certainly Maru (Figs. 17,18), the great god of the Aotea. S. Percy Smith (1910:220) quotes Rangipito, a learned man of Te Atiawa.

“That he was principal god of Taranaki, indeed of all the descendants of those who came in the “Aotea”, as also of Ati Awa. This god was brought over by Turi in the “Aotea” as a spirit, not an image, and the priests on board were those of Maru. He was an evil god, who was very particular as to the behaviour of his worshippers, who were never to quarrel among themselves, and always to be on good behaviour. He was their god of war, to whom *karakias* were addressed and offerings made . . . Rev. Mr Hammond has a note “The stone image of the god Maru, which the Patea people formerly possessed, was burnt by Tamate Te Ito, and his *ope whakanoa* (or party who took the *tapu* off the *pas* etc. in the year 1855. Te Ito is still alive, a very old man, at this date, 1906). The stone broke in pieces when burnt. The distinguishing name of the people who had it in charge was Wai-o-tuere. Tapo of the “Aotea” canoe was Maru’s particular priest, and it remained in charge of his descendants from that time till burnt”.

Among Te Atiawa, the Aotea tribes and those of the northern South Island and Chatham Islands today, Maru is regarded as a sea god to whom the first fish caught are always given. This was probably his primary function before he became a war god.

A double-headed deity (6363) (Figs. 19,20) is almost certainly what E. Best calls the dual deity (E. Best 1924:111), a coupling together of the attributes of Rongo and Tane; Rongo as god of harvests and Tane as god of vegetation — Rongomatane.

Tangaroa is depicted in the remaining stick with a single head (6364) (Figs. 21,22). These identifications reverse the order given in the museum catalogue for these numbers. A photograph in the Gilbert Archey Annotated Photo Archive in the Ethnology Department of Auckland Museum correctly identifies the gods represented. It was made before 1921 when the godsticks were still in “the possession of W.A. Aldred of Timaru”.

OTHER INDIVIDUAL ITEMS

In the British Museum there are three godsticks. One in the Sir George Grey collection 54.12-29.15 (Fig. 23) and two others 63. 2-9.6 (Fig. 24) and 63. 2-9.7 (Fig. 25) which belong together. The two former figures are said to represent Maru but as both are quite different this would not be true. Taylor’s *Te Ika a Maui* published in 1855 would appear to be responsible for some of the museum notation. The Grey item was received in 1854 and the other in 1863, so that the Grey godstick could be a correct attribution predating Taylor. As will be seen (refer Appendix below), the Grey attribution is correct while 63. 2-9.6 represents Tangiora, a local god of war from the Pamoana hapu of Koroniti on the Wanganui River, while 63. 2-9.7 represents Pahaka, a god of agriculture.

There is a further Sir George Grey collection godstick in Auckland Museum (No. 21,894 (Fig. 26) which represents Tangaroa and may have been part of a set with the British Museum example (54.12-29.15).

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Figs. 23-26. Godsticks. 23-25. British Museum. 23. 54.12-29.15. Grey collection. Maru. 24. 63.2-9.6. W.A. Franks. Tangiora. 25. 63.2-9.7. W.A. Franks. Pahaka. 26. Auckland Museum. 21894.3. Grey collection. Tangaroa.

Photo (Figs. 23-25): British Museum

THE ASSOCIATIONS OF THE GODSTICKS

The named sets of *whakapakoko rakau* are, as Skinner noted in 1922, usually in sets of three (Skinner 1922:172). The Taylor set are identified in Cambridge as Maru, Kahukura, Hukere, with the alternative image in Oxford identified as Rongomai. This set is correctly characterised by Gathercole (1979:288) as a set of tribal gods. "The godstick ritual is not only very systematic and controlled but also extremely flexible" (ibid:289). It was flexible to a certain degree in that alternative gods could be substituted in a set. It was also varied in the carving styles employed. These latter followed the tribal art forms. The representation of the same figure in different areas could vary although I am assured that the *tohunga* could recognise a representation regardless of how it was portrayed. The main barriers to identifying the various *atua* forms in the sticks, as in other portrayals, is lack of knowledge combined with incorrect identification of some god symbols. Barrow's broad delineation of a Wanganui - Taranaki style of carving (Barrow 1959: 1961), obscures rather than assists in identifying the difference.

The *whakapakoko rakau* sets can also be called *tiki* as they are in human form. They are not the special *toko wananga* described by White (1887:2) used when the *whare wananga* schools were meeting. These represent the major gods characterised by Best as "departmental gods" (E.Best 1924:86). The reduction of the symbol of the god to a single design as in these *toko* is an indication of the symbols to be identified on the *whakapakoko rakau*. There is a set of *toko wananga* (Fig. 27) in the Sir George Grey collection in Auckland Museum (21892.1-6) collected near Mauku, just south of Auckland. Tumatauenga is represented by a straight *toko*, Tawhirimatea by a corkscrew, Tane by a semi-circle, Tangaroa by a zigzag, Rongo by rounded waves and Haumia by three small half-circles. Despite Te Rangi Hiroa's caution (Te Rangi Hiroa 1949:467) the Grey set must be presumed to be of pre-European manufacture as they were hidden before the Ngapuhi raids of 1822.

Many of the gods depicted are specifically stated to have been brought into the tribal area from Hawaiki. Maru, Kahukura and Rongomai were brought from Hawaiki in the story of Manaia in *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna* (Grey 1928:71) in the passage written by Matene Te Whiwhi of Ngati Raukawa. Pita Kapita of Ngati Porou associates Kahukura with the Horouta canoe and with the Takitimu canoe of Ngati Kahungunu (Simmons 1976:121, 129), and Kahukura is also the main god of Ngai Tahu, corresponding to Uenuku, Maru and Rongomai of Arawa (Cowan 1910:109). In 1910 Te Heuheu Tukino of Tuwharetoa gave Rongomai, Uenuku, Kahukura, Tawhai, Puhaorangi and others as tribal gods but Rongomai (Figs. 28,29) was also his personal god as *ariki* of Tuwharetoa (Cowan 1910:109). Uenuku and Kahukura are both gods of the heavens who are seen as rainbows, and are to a certain extent, interchangeable. Uenuku is both tribal and war god of Waikato and north Taranaki (Cowan 1910:109). Te Rangi Hiroa (1949:461) considered it likely that the gods brought from Hawaiki were Maru, Kahukura, Uenuku and Rongomai. Kahukura was a god and also an ancestor of Rarotonga as was Uenuku (ibid:461). In Rarotongan traditions, Tangaiti, Tangaroa, Ruenuku, Tane, Tu, Rewa, Rongomatane and Rongo are referred to in the story of Maui (Gill 1916:124). This also indicates that White's classification (White 1887:appendix) of Rongomatane as a son of Rongo has some antiquity.

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Figs. 27-29. 27. *Toko wananga*. Auckland Museum. 21892.1-6. Left to right. Rongo, Tangaroa, Tawhirimatea, Tu, Tu, Haumia. 28,29. Godstick. Canterbury Museum. E149.17. Rongomai.

Photos (Figs. 28,29): National Museum

The pointed form of the *whakapakoko rakau* is also known from Polynesia. It was present in central Polynesia and very general in Hawaii (Te Rangi Hiroa 1949:472). Barrow (1961:218) illustrates a Hawaiian crested godstick with human head at one end and a point at the other. The shaft of the stick is decorated with incised patterns similar to the lashing found on New Zealand images and also on ceremonial adzes from Mangaia (Te Rangi Hiroa 1949:469-70).

The triple sets of godsticks can be compared with other expressions of Maori art such as lintels which also incorporate the same principle. ‘This argument suggests that due to the basic trinary structure of the symbolism of Maori carving (and so of Maori life), godsticks could have been organised in trinary sets. Such an arrangement conformed to an ideological ‘ideal’ (Gathercole 1979:291). The ideal in question lies not in the artistic sphere but in the spiritual — in the cosmology which is seen as the very structure of the universe and of social life and values. The functions of the sets perhaps best illustrate this ideal.

THE SETS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

The Taylor set from Wanganui includes the three named respectively Maru, Kahukura and Hukere, who are gods concerned with the sea and war, the heavens, the earth and death. The fourth stick Rongomai would replace Maru in some Tuwharetoa rituals and Kahukura in others.

The Aldred set from Waimate Pa is a set applying to the sea. Maru again is a sea and war god, Tangaroa is concerned with the life in the sea, and Rongomatane in this sense is concerned with seaweed and the life just at the top of the water — he is half submerged. The life in question is food for fish and men. In our understanding, it would be labelled plankton.

Two of the individual Taylor godsticks in Wanganui Museum are labelled Rakaiaora and Pahaka. They would be associated with Rongomatane in a set concerned with the kumara, as Rongomatane is associated with growth, Pahaka with lifting and curing of the tubers, then their transport into storage. Rakaiaora is a god who looks after the putting into store.

The godstick named Mokotiti is part of a set concerned with the human body. The god of the head is Ahupiri Kaimanga, the god of the flesh is Waihoetoto, and the penis is cared for by Tikitikipono. An alternative set for the body when illness strikes would include Mokotiti instead of Waihoetoto. Mokotiti in his *aria* of a lizard is inimical, on the one hand he causes diseases of the lungs but on the other more positive side he allows the body to be upright, healthy and straight.

There are two further sets of *whakapakoko rakau* for which as yet few clearly identified examples have been found. A general set concerned with the earth and its life would consist of Takuru who makes the dew and soil moisture to give life to growing things; Heketurongo who is concerned with soil fertility and Waitangikanga who watches over the seasons and shelters the plants. An earthly set whose gods watched over food-bearing trees consisted of Kairongo watching the fruit spurs and the bearing of the crop, Ipo protecting the bark of the tree and Nga Houhou concerned with rebirth, growing of seeds

and regeneration. This knowledge is derived from information given to the author by a knowledgeable elder, Te Riria, a graduate of Te Ariki-mohowhakaitiiti *whare wananga*.

As the sets of *whakapakoko* are in threes, it would seem they represent the three realms, Te Kore, Te Po and Te Ao Marama (Marsden 1975:191). In the letters of Thomas Kendall from the Bay of Islands in 1824 (Binney 1968:172), reference is made to the six principles of existence, united in the seventh. There are said to be six sets of *whakapakoko rakau* which are united under the seventh or spiritual set which could only be invoked by the *arikinui* or *taiopuru*. A cognate word, *tapairu* refers to a first born female in a family of rank and in the term *kai tapairu*, sacred food to be eaten only by an *ariki* in the eldest line of descent (Williams 1971:382).

These spiritual *whakapakoko* are the Koroiti Ko Tama, the highest (Binney 1968:172) which can be defined as the spiritual life force of the world from which all is created. This is in Te Kore the first state of existence. The Koroiti Ko Tama is not a supreme being in the European sense — it is a life force. Its material representation is the *tokipoutangata* Iriperi Ko Tama an archaic and sacred adze (Fig. 30) made of Tahanga basalt held on deposit in Auckland Museum (No.47156) (S.Best 1977:331).

The second spiritual *whakapakoko* is Ahupiri, the spiritual teachers who maintain the universe in the ten heavens. These are the gods Rehua, Tawhaki and Maru. Maru looks after the lowest three heavens, Kiko Rangi, Whakamaru and Nga Roto. Tawhaki (Fig. 31) has charge of the next three heavens, Hauoro, Nga Tauira and Nga Atua. The latter is the abode of the inferior gods. Rehua is supreme in the four uppermost heavens. Autoia, Aukumea, Wairua and Tuwarea of Toi o Nga Rangi. These and those above are the names as given by White (1887:appendix). These are the correct sacredotal names whereas those given by Elsdon Best (1924:42) derived from the teachings of Matorohanga, would not seem to have been more than descriptive or numerical. The same can be said of the list given by Taylor (1855:17).

It will be noted that Maru reappears again, not as a war or sea god of Wanganui and Taranaki, but as a great god in his own right. This is the form in which he appears in the Taylor set even though Taylor (1855:35) is confused and quotes his attributes as “God of the Heavens”.

The third *whakapakoko* of the spiritual set is the Taiopuru (Fig. 32) the guardian and protector of the Koroiti Ko Tama in Te Ao Marama, this world. In the person of the eldest male of the *ariki* line he is a man or, if no male is available, the senior female or *tapairu* fulfils this function.

CONCLUSION

The Ngataranga Bay godstick (Figs. 1,2) is of the Hukere form. The godsticks were made and used in sets of three by the *tohunga* on certain occasions and sometimes an alternative set was used. Information from the named godsticks plus information from a trained elder has been put together to explain the numbers and functions of these sets.

- 1 The supreme spiritual set which encompasses the others and deals with the three realms of existence is Koroiti Ko Tama, Ahupiri, Taiopuru.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 30-32. 30. *Tokipoutangata*. Auckland Museum. 47,156. Iriperi ko Tama. 31,32. Godsticks. 31. National Museum. Webb 1838 (collected J. Cook 1770). Tawhaki. 32. Auckland Museum. 3453. Taiopuru.

- 2 A general set is Maru (alternative Rongomai), Kahukura, Hukere.
- 3 A set for the sea is Maru, Tangaroa, Rongomatane (Fig. 33).
- 4 A set for the earth is Takuru, Heketurongo (alternative Ngairakau), Waitangikanga.
- 5 A set for food-bearing trees is Kairongo (Fig. 34), Ipo (alternative Moetiti), Ngahouhou.
- 6 A set for kumara comprises Rongomatane, Rakaioro, Pahaka (alternative Waihuru).
- 7 A set for the body is Ahupiri Kaimanga (alternative Waipuna), Waihoetoto (alternative Mokotiti), Tikitiki pono (Fig. 35) (alternative Ngapururu).

The seven sets do not preclude invocation of other departmental, tribal, family or deified ancestors, many of which are represented by *taumata atua* of various sorts. For example, Pani the goddess of kumara in store is represented by a stone figure or *mauri*.

The presence of *whakapakoko rakau* from Ngataranga Bay within the former Kawerau tribal territory would suggest that such items were more widespread in the past than present distribution would suggest. Like the Taylor sticks, those in other areas would have been hidden or perhaps destroyed when the people became Christians.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 33-35. Godsticks. 33. Otago Museum. D24.1260. Rongomatane. 34. Cambridge. 22.1533. Kairongo. 35. Auckland Museum 37,148. Tikitiki pono.

List of known whakapakoko rakaū

APPENDIX

In 1959, 1961 and 1974, Barrow described and illustrated all the *whakapakoko rakaū* he could locate at that time. Further information has been provided by Archey's notes in Auckland Museum and my own records of Maori collections in the United States of America, Canada and Europe. Where the origin of a piece and/or its name have been recorded previously, these are printed in bold type. A suggested tribal style attribution is made for unlocated pieces. Identification of the unnamed pieces has been made by comparison with named examples in consultation with Te Riria. Each such identification has been printed in ordinary type.

It will be noted that some sticks from Barrow's lists have been omitted. These are not godsticks. On the other hand, two items excluded by Barrow, e.g. Auckland 3453, 37148 (Barrow 1974, figs. 197-8, 199) described as batons have been included. The items excluded are: Otago Museum D38.1245 from Wicakiffi Bay (Barrow 1961, no. 24), National Museum Web. 1776 (Barrow 1961, no. 25) which is a boundary or survey peg, National Museum 3055 (Barrow 1961, no. 26) a weaving peg, and Wanganui Museum 51.359 (Barrow 1959, no. 10) which is a peg used to mark the eastward facing area when a new house area is being dedicated. Additional items are included from Auckland Museum and the Staatlchs Museum für Volkekunde in Dresden, D.D.R.

Museum	Catalogue No.	Length	Tribe & Locality	Name	References	Remarks
Auckland	47156	36 cm	Nga Herehere, Wairoa	Iiperi Ko Tama	S. Best 1977 86:331	Tokipoutangata
National	Web. 1838	51.5 cm	Ngai Tahu, Prob. Qn. Charlotte Snd.	Tawahaki	Barrow 1961, No. 27.	Carved by a <i>Gisborne</i> carver, complete human figure.

Barrow 1974	Taiopuru	Ngati Kahungunu, Hawkes Bay	45.5 cm	3453	Auckland
Barrow 1961, No. 19, cord	Maru	Taranaki, Waimate	24.5 cm	6362	Auckland
Barrow 1961, No. 20, cord	Rongomatane	Taranaki, Waimate	31 cm	6363	Auckland
Barrow 1961, No. 21, cord	Tangaroa	Taranaki, Waimate	31.5 cm	6364	Auckland
Barrow 1959, No. 4, Shafi broken. Taylor 1855:82.	Maru	Ngati Hau, Wanganui	36 cm	O.XI.38	Cambridge U.K.
Barrow 1959, No. 3, Shafi wrapped with plated cord.	Kahukura	Ngati Hau, Wanganui	37 cm	O.XI.39	Cambridge U.K.
Barrow 1959, No. 2, Head with hands	Hukere	Ngati Hau, Wanganui	36.5 cm	O.XI.40	Cambridge U.K.
Barrow 1959, No. 1, Shafi wrapped with plated cord.	Rongomai	Ngati Hau, Wanganui	30.5 cm	P.R. 122 (H)	Oxford U.K.
Barrow 1959, No. 14, Grey collection	Maru	Ngā Rauru, S.Taranaki	35 cm	54.12-29.15	British Museum
Barrow 1959, see above	Tangaroa	Ngā Rauru, S. Taranaki	36.5 cm	21894.3	Auckland
Barrow 1959, No. 12, Note carving on shaft	Tangitōra	Ngati Hau, Koroniti	35 cm	63.2-9.6	British Museum
Barrow 1959, No. 13, Local war god.	Pahaka	Ngati Hau, Koroniti	37 cm	63.2-9.7	British Museum
Barrow 1959, No. 6, Harper collection ex Taylor.	Rakatoria	Ngā Rauru, S.Taranaki	33 cm	E51.257	Wanganui
Barrow 1959, No. 7, As above, for use of <i>taputu</i> line.	Rongomatane	Ngati Rauru, S.Taranaki	41 cm	E51.256	Wanganui
Barrow 1959, No. 8, Harper Collection	Pahaka	Ngati Hau, Wanganui	23.5 cm	E51.258	Wanganui
Barrow 1959, No. 5, Carving later than others	Maru	Ngati Hau, Wanganui	33.5 cm	E51.262	Wanganui
Barrow 1961, No. 16, Wrapped plated cord.	Rongomai	Ngati Hau, Wanganui	30.8 cm	E 149.171	Canterbury Private U.S.A.

Carver from East Coast	Barrow 1961	Maru	Ngati Porou, E.Coast	30.8 cm	E19.166	Peabody, Salem, Mass.
Carving varies.	—	Maru	?Ngati Apa, Wanganui	34 cm	26.196	Dresden
Plain, painted orange ochre, 19th century	—	?Maru	Tuhoe, Bay of Plenty	34 cm	25.924	D.D.R. Dresden
Incipient janus on shaft	Barrow 1961	Tangaroa	Ngapuhi, Northland	31 cm	—	Ipswich
Probably in Taylor's sketch.	Barrow 1959	?mokititi Maru	Ngati Hau, Wanganui	32 cm	OID.155	National
Five rounds of cord on shaft.	Barrow 1959	Kaitongo	Ngati Hau, Wanganui	25.5 cm	22.1533	Cambridge U.K.
Janus head	Barrow 1961	Rongomatane	Ngati Tahu, Moa Flat, Otago	33 cm	D24.1260	Otago
Barrow 1974:143 Archaic No. 23	Barrow 1974:143	Tikitiikipono	Waitaha, Te Puke	34 cm	37.148	Auckland
cf Cook Islands	Simmons 1973	Tangaroa	Archaic, Katikati	15 cm	45.592	Auckland
Head, plain	Adkin 1948:96	?ipo	Ngati Mamoe, Fiorland Muapoko, Horowhenua	14.7 cm	L75.6	Otago
Waterworn	fig. 107			34.3 cm		National
Very worn, doubtful	Bellwood 1978		Ngati Apakura, L.Mangakaware?	—		?Waikato
Handle-shape with bird on back	Barrow 1974:28, fig.19	Nga Ko	Ngara Rauru, Waverley	31 cm	51.261	Wanganui
Used by <i>tohunga</i> when planting	Downes 1932:56, fig 12A, 13A					
special food plot.	Downes 1932:56, fig.12B, 13B	?	Ngara Rauru, Waverley	42 cm	51.260	Wanganui
Waterworn	Cast in Otago Museum and Okains Bay Museum.	?	Ngati Tahu, Akaroa	76 cm		Unknown (cast only)

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